

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

A HOPE FOR PEACE THAT MUST NOT DIE

A slender hope that the war might yet be ended before the nations involved become utterly exhausted appeared this week. It grew even as the new French Government prepared to spare its citizens the agonies involved in a continuation of the war, and as Mr. Churchill repeated the British Government's intention to fight on.

To report this is not rumour-mongering. The Political Correspondent of the *News Chronicle* wrote on Tuesday:

"All the main sections of British political opinion were united yesterday on the need for continuing the struggle with renewed energy."

"A few politically unimportant high-Tory 'Big Business' men and a few pacifists are believed to have canvassed the chance of an early peace with Hitler. The overwhelming majority of the House of Commons stands firm by the declaration of the Prime Minister on June 4—'We shall never surrender.'"

The 'Big Business' men no doubt have their own reasons for wishing to end the war. Whatever they may be, the pacifists' interest is the welfare of humanity as a whole, to which war is the greatest menace.

Not Surrender

But to urge that, if a negotiated peace be possible, it should be made, is not a coward's cry of "Surrender." It is to face the fact that modern war if allowed to rage unchecked, is more likely to smash our civilization, to debase our humanity and our ideals, than to lift what Mr. Churchill called "the curse of Hitler" from the brows of men.

If a peace offer should be forthcoming, and it is not acceptable to this nation, let our Government, instead of merely saying so and fighting on, declare what they propose instead. If they were prepared to go so far with the principle of federalism as they did in the remarkable offer to France, would they consider it for Europe as a whole?

Hold On!

And if, for the time being, the slender hope of peace should seem to die, as it may have done by the time these words appear, let the minority which believes there is still a better way than war hold on to its faith, for the day will return when men will listen to the voice of sanity.

GO TO IT!

"PEACE NEWS" is in the biggest crisis of its existence. We must have the help of every active member of the Peace Pledge Union if we are not to lose the greater part of our influence just at the time when it is most needed.

We have already asked for that help. Our experience of the fine support we have been given in the past convinces us that we shall get it. But we must have it in time—and that means NOW.

During the past months we built up, with your help, a circulation of more than 30,000. Two-thirds of those readers bought *Peace News* from a newsagent. Now the National Association of Wholesale Newsagents has decided not to handle the paper any more. Those readers must therefore be contacted immediately; a new method of distributing the paper must come into operation. We must get back those readers, without delay. With your help it can be done.

We have already explained how P.P.U. regions and groups can see us through this crisis by taking over the distribution to retail newsagents, individual members, libraries, etc. Any regional or group officials who have not yet received details of the new scheme should write and tell us.

Already, in some districts, supporters have rallied to our help magnificently. Read what Geoffrey Norman, on behalf of the West Herts region, wrote to us last Friday:

"Last night we set up an organisation for *Peace News* distribution in this region. I was appointed regional organiser and we intend to work the scheme on the lines suggested in your circular. The general feeling was that keeping *Peace News* in circulation is probably the most important single job that the P.P.U. can do at the moment. The paper will continue to forge a vital link of fellowship throughout the whole movement and . . . we are confident that we shall be able to carry on its distribution.

"We have decided that each group shall pay the regional organiser the full price for each copy they have and that the regional organiser shall send all profits direct to *Peace News* for the Fighting Fund. There will be a minimum of postage and administration charges by the region, so there should be a good profit. To increase this further it was suggested that one copy of the paper

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What Uncle Sam thought then....

DETERMINED TO DO A THORO JOB OF IT THIS TIME



is he now going to finish the job?

This cartoon from the Chicago Daily Tribune of March 2 recalls the objective view of the war the American public was being given until a short time ago. Now, however, another picture is being drawn for them

A Pacifist Commentary

Edited by "Observer"

Warlike Words Which Do No Good

I KNOW it is unpopular to suggest that Allied leaders should give any thought to war aims or peace aims. That is understandable at a time when they have other immediate problems on hand.

But I wish they would spare a moment to tell us whether they look upon the ordinary folk of Germany and Italy as our sworn enemies for an indefinite period (even after the war), or as the unfortunate victims of the dictators who were raised to power partly by the events of the past twenty years.

Last week I drew attention to the danger that hate-mongering would put yet another obstacle in the way of international co-operation after the war. Mr. Duff Cooper certainly

didn't help with his radio speech last week, the bragging tone of which has already been deplored in Parliament and in the press.

Worse still was Major-General E. Swinton, who, at Liverpool on Friday, declared: "While we are at war there are no good Germans. We are fighting the whole German race from Hitler down to the youths who, as parachutists, shoot everything they see, including women and children. They have been born and

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A Pacifist Commentary

bred to it. They have been saturated with the thought that Germans are supermen, and that Germans must succeed by force and brutality."

Leaving aside the truth or otherwise of that statement, it was a stupid thing to say, even from the point of view of an enthusiastic supporter of the War Cabinet. For the effect of such judicious quotations from the speech as are likely to be published in Germany can well be imagined; they will serve to bring the German people still more unitedly behind their rulers.

Such sweeping statements are merely grist for Dr. Goebbels's mill. Is it too much to hope that they will be officially discouraged?

New Threat to Liberty

ANY person found guilty of publishing "any report or statement relating to the war which is likely to cause alarm or despondency" is liable to imprisonment up to one month and a fine up to £50, under an Order in Council issued last week.

This was a little too much even for the former Opposition press to swallow. The *News Chronicle*, for instance, pointed out that "this is a sweeping order which, if literally interpreted, could be used to destroy the freedom of the British press." Exactly; it only remains to add that it is an almost inevitable accompaniment of total war, like the rest of the Government's wartime powers.

A literal interpretation of the order,

by the way, could involve the prosecution of the entire British press for publishing such news as the fall of Paris! It would then be for the defendants to prove that they believed the statement in question to be true, that its publication was not malicious, and that it ought fairly to be excused. No-one expects the order to be applied in such cases, of course, but clearly the minority press which opposes the war is faced with yet another possible threat to its existence. Yet surely the real defeatism is the attitude of those who say we must sacrifice an untold number of lives in order to secure peace; at any rate their statements fill me with alarm and despondency.

Danger—and Hope

LAST week I quoted *Peace Commentary* on the danger of plague arising from the carnage on the Continent. It appears that the danger has not passed unnoticed, for on Saturday it was reported by Reuter from the Polish frontier, where hospitals are "overflowing with German wounded of all ranks" that "the great number of dead . . . necessitated wholesale cremations by the wayside in mobile crematoriums, the memory of which was still a nightmare to the wounded troops." Last week's *Peace Commentary*, referring to the evacuation of the B.E.F. from Flanders, asked if our thankfulness for the deliverance of so many men was to be followed by their dispatch to a new front, and drew attention to the fact that some did not come back—and some came back "something less than men."

N. Z. PACIFISTS FACE PERSECUTION

From MICHAEL YOUNG
Dominion Organizer, New Zealand P.P.U.

RATHER than sit back and await conscription the New Zealand Peace Pledge Union and Christian Pacifist Society have been conducting a frontal attack on our country's participation in the war.

(Conscription came into force in New Zealand on Tuesday.—Ed.)

You will recall the report (in *Peace News* on January 12th) of the intervention of the Acting Premier of New Zealand when three of us were arrested. On that occasion he told us, quite confidently, that we could say whatever we liked, as we would never embarrass the Government. Six months later I tried to interview him to discuss the new Emergency Regulations; after much hedging his secretary said: "But you fellows are opposing the war, and we can't allow that. You are endangering the war effort."

Owing to the activities of the P.P.U. the C.P.S. and the newly-found Peace and Anti-Conscript Council (embracing all who oppose this war), the Government has introduced these drastic regulations. The so-called "Labour democratic" Cabinet has the powers of Hitler and is using them to a certain extent.

We have had a Cabinet Minister raving about "rounding up the Communists" and others referring to pacifists as "agents of foreign powers," "saboteurs," "receivers of Moscow gold," and so on.

The reason may be found chiefly in the fact that both pacifists and communists are distributing literature which quotes past speeches of the present members of the Cabinet when they opposed war.

In every possible way war resisters, pacifists, socialists and communists are persecuted, prosecuted and denied the right of free speech.

But, because of our stand, people in the thousand are following us—not as pacifists perhaps, but as opposed to this war. "The

great mass of people are apathetic, and there is certainly no enthusiasm except among a certain section, most of them being over fifty years of age.

* This was written on March 31st.

The "Plain Man" Has Some Questions For . . .

DR. C. E. M. JOAD, for some years a persuasive advocate of the pacifist case, is now all out "For Victory."

I know he has described himself as a "utilitarian pacifist" who would not always oppose war. But that doesn't alter the fact that the article he wrote in *Reynold's News* on June 11 to explain his new attitude to the war did not tell us whether he considered all his previous exposures of war itself to be untrue.

In that article he said that he wanted the Allies to win. "If the Nazis win," he wrote, "then I know that all the things I hold to be important will not only be imperilled, as they are imperilled by war, but will be certainly destroyed. . . . The Nazi regime . . . has exorcised culture, burnt books, exiled artists, scientists, writers and philosophers, and made war upon the mind of man. . . . It gags and muzzles its people; it taps telephones and opens letters; it sets spies and eavesdroppers to overhear and report upon the most casual conversation; it plants its secret police and their creatures in cafes, restaurants, shops and even private households to arrest its citizens and imprison them without trial, or after a trial in a party court for offences hitherto unknown to any code of law; it tortures its intellectuals to death in concentration camps; it forces its unfortunate victims to suppress at every moment the normal workings of the human intellect and the natural pulsations of the human heart."

* * * * *

NOW I admit all this. But the point at issue is how we are to meet the danger. And it is important to remember that, in meeting it by the way of war, our own rulers have begun to do some

(continued from page one)

"Can it be," asked *Peace Commentary*, "that Mark Antony's curse over dead Caesar will be realized?

*Blood and destruction shall be so in use
And dreadful objects so familiar
That mothers shall but smile when
they behold
Their infants quartered by the hand
of war,
All pity choked with custom of fell
deeds.*

Unless our hearts become immune to pity, unless our human emotions are regimented with our bodies and our property, the reaction to this generation's suffering will be tremendous. There lies our hope—and is that hope forlorn? The alternative is a mirror of the evils we fight against. . . ."

Judaism and Objectors

A CORRESPONDENT who "maintains that war is contrary to the highest ideals of Judaism" and intends to face a tribunal on that ground, asks if I can amplify my statement last week that "for other Jews—not all of them laymen—conscience bids otherwise" than to fight.

This was based on the reports which have appeared from time to time of Jewish conscientious objectors going before tribunals; I also knew of one Jewish clergyman with pacifist views and a colleague had a strong impression that there were others.

My correspondent tells me, however, that the clergyman I had in mind now reluctantly finds himself forced to support the war. Can readers tell me of any other pacifist Jewish ministers? If Jewish C.O.'s knew of them it would help them to maintain their witness.

After the War

ROSE SPIRO writes from New York City:

The fact that wars have always been followed by more wars at intervals of months or years, is proof that the settlements, treaties, etc., were not enough to prevent another outbreak of war, even after the last war—the "war to end all wars." It seems to me that if we are to have now THE war that will end all wars, we have to begin at this time to think about preventative methods to be applied at the immediate cessation of hostilities.



...Dr. Joad

of the things of which the Nazis are accused.

We are told there is this difference: that in Britain our liberties will be given back to us after the war. But will they?

Last summer, Dr. Joad himself, in his brilliant Penguin Special, *Why War?* answered that very question in the negative, and showed how "the history of the last twenty years has been a history of the continual erosion of liberty. . . ." The erosion has become a landslide since our national policy became "Victory first."

Admittedly Dr. Joad, announcing his change of front in the *News Chronicle* on May 22, urged that we should not

Edited by "Observer"

It occurred to me, in thinking about what could at last make for permanent world peace, that it would be possible if we had not only political planning at the end of this war, but a Congress of the Spiritualized Intelligence, representing all parts of the world—gathered together, not to plan according to economic and political standards which would benefit each delegate's particular country most (as has been the case till now, when the diplomats met after a war), but a congress of the leading thinkers in the fields of religion, science, education, art, literature, philosophy, etc., who have learned to think in universal terms, not in terms of nationalism; who have the interest of humanity at heart, not the interest of the nation they happen to be representing; who know that peace does not depend on treaties and conferences, but on the desires to live according to the principles essential to world peace, such as, religious, national, racial tolerance and economic sharing for the benefit of all.

It seems to me that a Congress meeting on the basis of spiritual principles and high-minded motives could shape measures for settling disputes which might arise, in the most intelligent bloodless way, and work out a plan for international co-operation and goodwill.

Conference of Peace Workers

THE National Peace Council will hold a special single-day conference at Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1, on June 29, in place of the usual National Peace Congress.

This conference is intended to provide an opportunity for a responsible consideration of the position of the peace movement in the present critical situation and the attendance will largely be drawn from national and local organisations associated with the Council. Individual peace workers are eligible to attend as visitors, but admission is by ticket only, and application should be made to the National Peace Council at 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

Contributors to the discussion will include Sir Richard Acland, M.P., Dr. C. E. M. Joad, the Rev. Henry Carter, Dr. Herbert Gray, Miss Vera Brittain and Mr. Carl Heath, who was Secretary of the National Peace Council during the Great War.

throw aside those liberties which make victory worth while, and that we should make a different settlement from Versailles.

But it is not Dr. Joad who will run the war. That is done by men who may feel it necessary to dispense with those liberties; and the men who make the settlement will be likely to be swayed by the same passions that produced Versailles.

* * * * *

IF Dr. Joad's pacifism had been only negative, if he had never maintained that there is an alternative to the method of war, it would be another matter.

But in *Why War?* he quoted with approval Bertrand Russell's imaginary account—written during the last war—of a German invasion of a non-resisting England, and reiterated his own view that, "of all the courses which it is open to statesmen to follow, that course which is a declaration of war involves, under modern conditions, more suffering and involves more suffering for more people, than any other course which could have been taken."

Unfortunately, however, Bertrand Russell has now joined Dr. Joad in denying the validity now of his former pacifism. (In his case I have not yet read any explanation.)

Why is this? I refuse to believe that the minds of two such eminent men are less brilliant than they were. But, as a plain man who still believes (with the Dr. Joad of 1939) that "a sufficient increase in the number of those human beings who denied the state's right to demand of its citizens the perpetration of the crime of murder in its assumed interests, would mean the end of war," I am puzzled. Will they enlighten us?

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Pacifism Worked In The Wildest Part Of The World

TWO hypothetical cases often presented to the pacifist as insoluble by his methods are: Firstly, being in a room full of women and children, into which break some wild and bloodthirsty armed men; and, secondly, meeting in a crowded street a drunken or crazy man running amok.

In order to test whether his theoretic pacifism would stand such experiences as these, Edward Richards, an American conscientious objector of the last war, determined to go to the wildest and most dangerous part of the world. This, he was told, was to be found in West Persia.

A combination of war, racial antipathies and religious fanaticism produced a most uneasy situation there. Massacres were not unknown, and terrible diseases were rampant. Edward Richards was put in charge of the orphans and the industrial relief of the district of which Urumiah was the centre.

Increased Danger

After several months of extensive relief work the situation grew even worse.

The ill will stirred up by the war, the persecutions, the massacres, the assaulting of women, and the carrying off of girls, had intensified to a terrible degree the age-long hatred between the Syrians and the Armenians on the one hand, and the Kurds, Turks and Moslems on the other. There were thousands of people who had been driven from their homes and were refugees.

On the withdrawal of the Russian army, open warfare broke out between the rival factions, and after several months the regular Turkish army came to the help of the Moslems, and the Armenians and Syrians to the number of nearly 100,000 people were obliged to flee for refuge far away.

Most of the American missionaries stayed in their compound, where many refugees, too, came for shelter. Then the Kurds and Turks entered the city.

Vera Brittain's Appeal

To The Editor

I wonder if you would be so kind as to give publicity to the fact that my fortnightly circular Letter will have to be discontinued after the next issue unless I can get further promises of subscriptions or support.

This situation is not, I am glad to say, mainly due to the psychological effect of the emergency through which we are passing. Except in those cases where readers genuinely cannot afford to continue, my subscribers, with only a few exceptions, have supported very nobly this small endeavour to maintain the rational values achieved by centuries of human thought and endeavour, at a time when hysterical hatreds are following swiftly on the heels of disaster and fear.

But financial calculations based on costs as they existed in September, 1939, have been completely invalidated by the rapid rise of expenses which have kept pace with the terrible speed of the war. At 2s. 6d. for six months, even a fortnightly Letter can now only meet its expenses on the basis of a really large list of subscribers. Their number need not be fantastic: if every existing subscriber found me one more within the next fortnight and renewed his own subscription when the time came, I could carry on.

You will, I am sure, forgive me for pointing out that this Letter is not addressed solely to absolute pacifists, but to all lovers of peace who believe with me that compassion, self-control, a sense of proportion and a determined respect for truth are qualities which irradiate even the darkest human hour.

I should be grateful indeed if those who intend to renew their subscriptions when the time comes and/or can send me the names of new subscribers, will put this information on a postcard and send it to Mrs. Eden-Green at 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. Please do not send any money at present, as I shall only be able to carry on if the response is sufficient.

VERA BRITTAINE

THAT was the setting in which Edward Richards found himself in a room with the women and children of the mission, and one invalid man.

The Kurds pounded on the door, making the thin panels bulge. Edward Richards walked to it, undid the small bolt, and said "Come in."

Three Kurds with rifles entered, surprised at being admitted, and instead of shooting, they demanded money. So he led them quickly through the room where the women and children were, to the study where small money was kept in a drawer and the larger relief funds in a safe.

Dr. Dodd, the invalid missionary, handed the small change to the Kurds and then left Richards to "entertain" the unwelcome visitors. Here is his own story:—

"A Sinking Feeling"

"While the Kurds were rummaging about the room, I walked over to the safe that had the money in it and tried to open it.

"Like all Russian safes, it was an iron box with a lid like a trunk, the keyhole being in the top of the lid. Finding the safe was locked, I stood there for a moment, and a horrible sinking feeling began to creep over me as the realisation of the situation came to me.

"There was nothing to do, however, but to play the game, and so I turned back to the Kurds, who were on the other side of the little room. . . . As I turned one of them suddenly threw up his rifle, covering me, and demanded the key of the safe.

"Now I honestly did not have the key, and I looked them in the eye over the sights of the rifle and told him so. Recognising that I was speaking the truth, he put his gun down and began to rummage round again."

THEN the thought came to Richards that he must "go the second mile" with the robbers and help them in their search.

So he began actually to try to open the safe for them. Putting his finger in the keyhole, he suggested that the Kurd should fire at that place, which he did.

At that sound his friends in the next room thought, "Well, there goes Richards—the Christian pacifist is through."

But the lock did not spring, and the safe was not opened. The Kurds were growing impatient, "and suddenly one of them, without a moment's notice, lost control of his temper, threw up his rifle, and hit me on the shoulder with the butt of it.

Taken by Surprise

"Then a curious thing happened. I had been honestly sincere in trying to help them to open the safe; I had joined them in their efforts, and considered myself, for the time being, one of them.

"This sudden blow on the shoulder therefore was a real surprise to me, and I remember turning and looking at the man who struck me with an expression which must have said to him, 'What are you hitting me for? I am doing everything I can to help you.'

"I spoke no word, but he must have read my look; for he put his gun down, and paid no further attention to me."

At long last, the Kurds left the house, after taking a coat or two, but passing by, and leaving, some silver on the side-board, and having done no personal harm to any of the missionaries.

LATER on came the second test. Edward Richards was in the yard overseeing the shoeing of a horse. There was the usual crowd at the big gate opening on to the street.

"Suddenly I heard an excited roar go up from near the gate. Leaving the horse-shoeing, I ran to see what was going on, and found a panic-stricken group of Syrians and Armenians peeping into the large main yard through a narrow little door.

"From them I learned that a young Armenian, wild-drunk and armed, had rushed into the yard from the street crying that he had come to kill Agha Sader, the wealthy refugee rascal."

Edward Richards argued with himself that if he could approach the drunken man with friendliness and no fear, he might persuade him to go home. He managed to get near to the Armenian before he was seen by him, and this is how he describes what happened:—

"Here was the Test"

"I smiled and held out my hand, offering to shake hands with him. Here was the test. I strove to appear to this poor drunken mind a friend who was not afraid.

"He swung round again and caught sight of me, hesitated for a moment, and then, drawing himself up to attention, he grounded his rifle and saluted me in unsteady drunken seriousness. As I came up close to him, I continued to hold out my hand, and, much to my surprise, he handed me his gun, saying as he did so, 'A present.'

"Taking the rifle in one hand and his arm in the other, I quietly walked with him to the gate." Next day the Armenian came to apologise.

[Based on "A Test of Faith," by Edward Richards, published in *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1923, this account is taken from A. Ruth Fry's *Victory Without Violence*, which is obtainable from her (Thorpeness, Suffolk), price 2d.]

AGAIN FEWER OBJECTORS.

The proportion of conscientious objectors fell to a new low level on Saturday when men of the 1911 class registered.

Objectors numbered 2,247—or .77 per cent of the total of 292,025.

Approximately 42,000 men have now registered as conscientious objectors since conscription was introduced.

Orphans Of The Storm

By JOHN BARCLAY

P.P.U. Groups Organiser

The Refugee problem is rapidly assuming such proportions that it may well become the deciding factor in world events. Already half Europe is covered with millions of unhappy people who are virtually homeless and starving. Our own evacuated children may be but the fore-runners of new millions should bombing start in this country. The imagination does not have to be strained to visualise the results of these nomad tribes on troop movements. If they are ruthlessly shot down or run over, their dead bodies still remain a problem to be dealt with. Alive they cry out ceaselessly to the human conscience, and dead they bring disaster and plague to both body and mind. Already their numbers are so great that it is becoming impossible for Governments to cope with them, and the numbers will rise if war continues.

As I write these notes, the news has come of the complete surrender of the French Army. The future may hold new surprises and fresh shocks for orthodox minds, but I believe that the greatest surprise of all is going to be the emergence of the human conscience as a world-governing and world-directing force. Behind every tank and gun is a timid soul that is affected by the cumulative suffering and loss involved in modern war. The Christian Church has failed as an institution, but the Christian pacifist stands as a witness to the spirit of Christ. The Labour Party has failed as an opponent of the Capitalist system, but the Socialist who is a pacifist stands as the hope of the new political faith, and together they stand on principles completely vindicated by current events.

The horror and brutality of our times may make cowards as well as heroes, but the greatest coward is he who will not face the truth. The truth becomes more plain that force and hatred have limited objectives; they cannot bring peace. Before it is too late, let conscience speak.

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Go To It!

(continued from page 1.)

should be passed on to two or three other members but that each one would pay twopence for it . . ."

That's the spirit! We are grateful to West Herts and the other regions which have acted so swiftly. We know the same spirit exists everywhere. The need now is for speed. The slogan for the other regions now should be

GO TO IT!

AND a word about that Fighting Fund. The week before last we announced that the original *Peace News* Fund would be closed and a new Fighting Fund opened.

Readers pushed the original fund up to a total of nearly £650 in just over a year. We know that times are hard, but we want the new fund to grow at not less than double the rate of the old. Already the new fund is well into its stride. Up to Tuesday £2316s. 5d. had come in—after a bad start, due no doubt to the drop in circulation following the blow to our distribution system.

But that same crisis has also badly hit us financially. We are economising in every possible way, without reducing the value of *Peace News* to our readers. If you value the paper, please show your appreciation by sending as often as you can a donation, however small, to the Fighting Fund! Let your slogan and ours be: GO TO IT!

Please address gifts to The Accountant, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4, indicating that they are for the Fighting Fund.

Pacifist's Promise To Court

HOWARD WHITTEN, a member of the Forward Movement within the Peace Pledge Union, was fined £5 at South-Western Police Court last week for using insulting words and behaviour whereby a breach of the peace might have been caused.

He gave an undertaking to the magistrate, Mr. Claud Mullins, not to say at his meetings anything likely to cause a breach of the peace, having regard to the present state of public opinion.

It was stated that, while addressing a P.P.U. open-air meeting at Putney Embankment, he said that it was possible that colonial troops might be brought into this country to suppress strikes.

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MAY OBJECTORS BE FORCIBLY DRESSED IN UNIFORM?

Officer Questioned At Court-Martial

THE right of an army officer to order force to be used to make a conscientious objector wear uniform was questioned at a district court-martial near Chester last week.

Before the court was Fusilier Daniel Wright, 21, on a charge of "when on active service disobeying in such a manner as to show wilful defiance of authority of the lawful command given by his superior officer in the execution of his office in that he when personally ordered by Lieutenant J. H. S. Martin to put on his uniform did not do so."

Lieutenant Martin, describing how Wright had refused to put on his uniform, said he had told him "In that case you will have to be forcibly dressed."

Wright replied, "I am a conscientious objector, and if force is used I have no alternative but to submit."

The officer ordered the police to dress him and left the room.

Objector's Question.

Questioned by Wright at the court-martial, the officer was unable to give the number of the regulation empowering him to order force to be used in such a case.

Wright said: "Are you aware that during the last war the War Office laid it down that if a man refused to comply with an order the proper procedure is to court-martial him and not to order the use of force to make him comply?"

Lieutenant Martin: "I am not aware of War Office orders twenty years previous to my commission."

Wright had already been twenty days in military custody; his total service was 42 days. He pointed out that a sentence of at least three months' imprisonment would entitle him to appear before the Appellate Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors, and asked the court to give him such a sentence.

It was announced that the sentence of the court would be promulgated in due course.

Facts and Figures

EFFECTS OF OTTAWA

WHAT was the effect on the Have-not nations of the Ottawa Agreements of 1932? This question is asked by a correspondent.

It is now difficult to answer in accurate detail, for the agreements have either lapsed or have been affected by trade pacts which have been made since. But in *Our Own Times* Stephen King-Hall sums up Ottawa thus:

"The net effect of the Ottawa Agreements was that a preference, varying in the case of each Dominion, was given to a range of British exports. In most cases this preference was secured by an increase in the tariff against other countries. In return for these rather limited concessions Great Britain undertook:

(a) To continue free entry for all Empire products already admitted free.

(b) To impose fresh duties on certain imports from foreign countries, such as wheat, maize, butter and cheese, canned, dried and some fresh fruits, copper, linseed and rice.

(c) To regulate quantitatively foreign imports of chilled and frozen meat and subsequently bacon and ham.

(d) To maintain existing preferences by retaining certain duties.

(e) An undertaking to Canada to terminate any other engagement which conflicted with the Ottawa concessions.

"The effects of these provisions on the United Kingdom tariff level was that the proportion of foreign imports admitted free, which was 83 per cent before the advent of the National Government, fell, as the result of the Ottawa Conference, from 30 percent to 25 percent.

"The agreements were to run for five years, an unusually long period for commercial agreements.

What Does



Stand For?

The Peace Pledge Union is the pacifist society which was founded by Canon Dick Sheppard in 1934, when he invited all those who were willing to pledge themselves to renounce war to send him their names. The society is entirely non-sectarian and welcomes within its ranks everyone who is resolved not to be the means of war's activity, irrespective of the particular form of reasoning or faith which has brought him to this decision.

Like their decision to make a renunciation of war, their ways of acting for the attainment of peace remain individual. The groups of the Peace Pledge Union scattered throughout the country follow collectively these ways to the construction of a different social order.

The Peace Pledge Union cannot be termed a political body in the accepted sense; it is not realistic to use the machinery of party politics in order to change a society whose values that machinery expresses. Yet in another sense, action expressing the values respected by progressive people is political action. Nor can the Union be termed a religious body in the accepted sense; to use the familiar machinery of religious organisations which have failed to establish a warless society is again unrealistic. In another sense, however, the attempt to express the values which have been the foundation of all religions is to practise religion.

Quite simply, therefore, the Peace Pledge Union asks its members to make use of their common humanity for the realisation of peace; the alternative is to allow contemporary warfare to make use of their talents for common barbarism.

At a meeting of the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union, it was agreed that though they should not be held binding in any sense upon any member, the following affirmations express in the Council's view, the corporate mind of the Peace Pledge Union: We are agreed

1 In attaching supreme value to the human person and the integrity of the individual.

It is necessary to distinguish between the integrity of the individual, and an individualism, the exaggeration of which has prevented the realisation of true democracy, and opened up the way for totalitarianism.

We are agreed

2 In believing that the individual only achieves full personality through the establishment of right relationship with others.

This involves the acceptance of a share of the guilt and the responsibility of society. For some this acceptance will find expression in the attempt to reform society from within; for others an experiment through community to lead a corporate life, which however, should not be used as a way of escape.

We are agreed

3 In our apprehension of the increasing power of the existing social order to destroy the individual and prohibit real community.

Existing society denies the pacifist way of life, and we must therefore witness against this denial. This involves a recognition of the subhuman tendencies towards totalitarianism in the present situation, and an attempt to expose them. The willing submission to the common good which is exploited in totalitarianism must be incorporated in a new society based upon a new culture.

We are agreed

4 That our task is always to take the most creative and constructive action in the face of existing circumstances.

The way of justice and love, to many expressed as "the way of Christ," is the straight way to the redemption of the individual and of society.

The national headquarters of the PPU are at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London W.C.1., from which addresses of local groups and details of their publications can be obtained and to which you should send your signed pledge.

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another."

The Peace Bookshop, 76 Eden Street, Kingston-on-Thames, is now closed.